

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

<u>CERTIFIED MAIL</u> RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Marc Kushner
72 Kirkland St. #32
Cambridge, MA 02135

JUL 1 2 2002

RE: MU

MUR 5279

Bill Bradley for President, Inc.

Dear Mr. Kushner:

On June 26, 2002, the Federal Election Commission found that there is reason to believe you violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f and 11 C.F.R. § 110.4(b)(1)(iv), provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act") and Commission regulations. The Factual and Legal Analysis, which formed a basis for the Commission's finding, is attached for your information.

You may submit any factual or legal materials that you believe are relevant to the Commission's consideration of this matter. Please submit such materials to the General Counsel's Office within 15 days of your receipt of this letter. In addition, please complete and return the enclosed questionnaire within 15 days. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. In the absence of additional information, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred and proceed with conciliation.

If you are interested in pursuing pre-probable cause conciliation, you should so request in writing. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(d). Upon receipt of the request, the Office of the General Counsel will make recommendations to the Commission either proposing an agreement in settlement of the matter or recommending declining that pre-probable cause conciliation be pursued. The Office of the General Counsel may recommend that pre-probable cause conciliation not be entered into at this time so that it may complete its investigation of the matter. Further, the Commission will not entertain requests for pre-probable cause conciliation after briefs on probable cause have been mailed to the respondent.

Requests for extensions of time will not be routinely granted. Requests must be made in writing at least five days prior to the due date of the response and specific good cause must be demonstrated. In addition, the Office of the General Counsel ordinarily will not give extensions beyond 20 days.

If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address, and telephone number of such counsel, and authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. §§ 437g(a)(4)(B) and 437g(a)(12)(A), unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the investigation to be made public.

For your information, we have enclosed a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling possible violations of the Act. If you have any questions, please contact Albert Veldhuyzen or Michelle E. Abellera, the attorneys assigned to this matter, at (202) 694-1650.

Sincerely,

Karl J. Sandstrom Vice Chairman

Enclosures
Factual and Legal Analysis
Procedures
Designation of Counsel Form
Questionnaire

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2	FEDERAL ELECTION	COMMISSION
3	FACTUAL AND LEGA	L ANALYSIS
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6	RESPONDENT: Marc Kushner	MUR: 5279
7	•	
8	I. <u>GENERATION OF MATTER</u>	•
9	This matter was generated by an audit of Brad	ley for President, Inc. ("Committee") and
10	Theodore V. Wells, as treasurer, undertaken in accord	ance with 26 U.S.C. § 9038(a).
11	II. <u>FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS</u>	
12	A. Law	
13	The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, a	as amended (the "Act"), provides that no
14	person shall make a contribution in the name of anoth	er person or knowingly permit his name to
15	be used to effect such a contribution, and no person sl	nall knowingly accept a contribution made
16	by one person in the name of another. 2 U.S.C. § 441	f. See also 11 C.F.R. § 110.4(b)(1).
17	B. Contribution in the Name of And	other
18	The Committee received 40 business checks to	otaling \$40,000 on June 22, 1999. The
19	checks were written on the accounts of 40 different be	usiness entities and attributed to 39
20	individuals. A contribution schedule provided by the	Committee listed all the contributors as
21	partners in various "partnerships;" the schedule listed	the names of the partnerships, the
22	contributing partner and the address of the partnership	o. All of the partnerships have the same

address: 26 Columbia Turnpike, Florham Park, NJ. This address is the corporate headquarters of

Kushner Companies, a business owned and chaired by Charles Kushner. Quail Ridge

Dun and Bradstreet reports indicate that Kushner Companies is involved in approximately 100 locations. These properties appear to be managed by partnerships or limited liability companies in which Kushner Companies is the general partner.

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1 Associates has been identified as a managing residential property held by Kushner Companies,

and Charles Kushner has been identified as an officer/director of Quail Ridge Associates.

One of the contributions (check #18838 written for \$1,000) was attributed to Marc Kushner as a partner of Quail Ridge Associates. However, there is no evidence to confirm that Marc Kushner is a partner in Quail Ridge Associates or that Marc Kushner's individual partnership account was charged.² The Commission attempted to verify the status of Quail Ridge Associates through Dun and Bradstreet and the New Jersey Secretary of State. There was no evidence that Marc Kushner was a "partner" of Quail Ridge Associates. However, research by this office revealed that Marc Kushner is a relative of Charles Kushner.

An examination of all 40 contribution checks indicates that they were mass-produced and originated from a single corporate source. The accountholder's name, bank routing numbers and other notations all appear to be printed in the same type as the payee and amount information.

All but three checks contained the same typographical error. The fundraiser's name, Sapoch, was spelled incorrectly in the payee line ("Japoch"). All of the checks were drawn on accounts held at two different banks, Norcrown Bank and Valley National Bank. Norcrown Bank is part of the Kushner group of businesses. Lastly, all the checks appear to have been signed by the same person. Although not legible, the signatures on the checks appear very consistent. Given the likelihood that the checks were signed by Charles Kushner and originated from Kushner Companies and given the absence of evidence that the partners of the various partnerships

The Committee sent follow-up letters to determine the eligibility of the contributions for matching funds. Only 4 of the 39 contributors replied to the Committee's request for verification. Marc Kushner did not reply.

A comparison of the check signatures with Mr. Kushner's signature as displayed on the Kushner Companies' website suggests that the signatures may have originated from the same person.

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Factual and Legal Analysis—MUR 5279 Marc Kushner Page 3

- intended to make contributions, the Office of General Counsel believes that Kushner Companies and/or Charles Kushner were the true source of the contributions.
 - Given Kushner Companies and Charles Kushner's control over Quail Ridge Associates and other partnerships, Charles Kushner's relation to Marc Kushner and other named contributors, and the fact that the contributions appear to be signed by the same individual, were written for the same amount, and delivered on the same day, it is likely that contributions were made in the name of another. Furthermore, Marc Kushner made contributions to other federal campaign committees under similar circumstances. The presence of this bundling pattern of contributions suggests that Marc Kushner may have allowed his name to be used to effect contributions in the name of another. Accordingly, the Commission found reason to believe that Marc Kushner violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f and 11 C.F.R. § 110.4(b)(1)(iv).



Questionnaire in Matter Under Review 5279Marc Kushner

Questionnaire Instructions

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437g, the Federal Election Commission is investigating contributions to the Bill Bradley for President, Inc. ("Bradley Committee") during the 2000 presidential primary election campaign. The Commission has obtained documents that appear to show that you made a \$1,000 partnership contribution to the Bradley Committee on June 16, 1999 by check number 18838. A copy of check number 18838 is attached for your review.

Please answer the following questions by checking the appropriate boxes or filling in the blank lines. Please review your answers to ensure they are accurate and complete. For all questions that call for a description or explanation, attach additional sheets if necessary. Please submit the questionnaire to the General Counsel's Office within 15 days of receipt.

•	What is your occupat	tion?				
	Please provide your	employer's	address.			
						
•	Did you make a \$1,0 number 18838?	000 partners	hip contribu	tion to the Br	adley Commi	ttee with check
		Yes			No	
•	Did you consent to t	the \$1,000 p	artnership c	ontribution?		
	. 🗆	Yes			No	
·.	a. When did you co	ensent to the	\$1,000 part	nership contri	bution?	
	b. How did you co	nsent to the	\$1,000 parti	nership contri	bution?	

d. Did anyone acknowledge your consent? Please name the individual(s). e. When was your consent acknowledged? Jesus Pes No What is your partnership status? Are you a limited partner or a general partner of Quail Ridge Associates? Limited Partner General Partner B. Please describe the structure and status of Quail Ridge Associates: a. How many limited partners does Quail Ridge Associates have? b. Please list the limited partners of Quail Ridge Associates.	c.	Who did you communicate your consent to?	
e. When was your consent acknowledged? Are you a partner of Quail Ridge Associates? Yes D No What is your partnership status? Are you a limited partner or a general partner of Quail Ridge Associates? Limited Partner D General Partner Please describe the structure and status of Quail Ridge Associates: a. How many limited partners does Quail Ridge Associates have? b. Please list the limited partners of Quail Ridge Associates.	d.	. Did anyone acknowledge your consent? Please name the individual(s).	
Are you a partner of Quail Ridge Associates? Yes	e.	. When was your consent acknowledged?	
Are you a partner of Quail Ridge Associates? Yes			
What is your partnership status? Are you a limited partner or a general partner of Quail Ridge Associates? Limited Partner	. Aı		
Quail Ridge Associates? Limited Partner General Partner Please describe the structure and status of Quail Ridge Associates: a. How many limited partners does Quail Ridge Associates have? b. Please list the limited partners of Quail Ridge Associates.		☐ Yes ☐ No	
Please describe the structure and status of Quail Ridge Associates: a. How many limited partners does Quail Ridge Associates have? b. Please list the limited partners of Quail Ridge Associates.			•
a. How many limited partners does Quail Ridge Associates have? b. Please list the limited partners of Quail Ridge Associates.		☐ Limited Partner ☐ General Partner	
b. Please list the limited partners of Quail Ridge Associates.	. P1	lease describe the structure and status of Quail Ridge Associates:	
	a.	How many limited partners does Quail Ridge Associates have?	
c. Please list the general partners of Quail Ridge Associates.	b.	Please list the limited partners of Quail Ridge Associates.	
c. Please list the general partners of Quail Ridge Associates.			
•	c.	. Please list the general partners of Quail Ridge Associates.	

	d.	When was Quail Ridge Associates created?
	e.	What is the relationship between Quail Ridge Associates and Kushner Companies?
9.	Ple	ease describe your involvement and participation in Quail Ridge Associates:
	a	When did you become a partner of Quail Ridge Associates?
	b.	What was the percentage of your ownership interest when you joined Quail Ridge Associates?
	C.	What was the percentage of your ownership interest in Quail Ridge Associates on June 16, 1999?
	d.	What is the percentage of your current ownership interest in Quail Ridge Associates
		,
	e.	Please list any limitation or restrictions on your use of funds in the Quail Ridge Associates account.

		_	by Quail Ridge Associates?		
			Yes		No
g.	Are you ar	n office	r of Quail Ridge Associates?	•	
			Yes		No .
h.	Please des Ridge Ass	ociates'	• • • •		an employee or officer of Qua
	ow did you ommittee?	submit	•		number 18838 to the Bradley
_ . D	_	orize th	e \$1,000 contribution with ch	eck nur	mber 18838 to the Bradley
Co	ommittee?		Yes		No
. D	oid funds for	- r the \$1,	,000 contribution with check i		No
. D		- r the \$1,	,000 contribution with check i		No
. D ba . I	oid funds for ink account Did funds fo	the \$1 that you	,000 contribution with check in control? Yes ,000 contribution with check	— number □	No 18838 originate from a No
. D ba	oid funds for ink account Did funds fo	the \$1 that you	,000 contribution with check r r control? Yes	— number □	No 18838 originate from a No
D. D. ba. D. pe	oid funds for the account Did funds for ersonal partr	the \$1, that you or the \$1 nership odocum	,000 contribution with check in control? Yes ,000 contribution with check interest that you control?	number numbe	No 18838 originate from a No r 18838 originate from a No
. D ba . I pe	old funds for tink account Did funds for ersonal partrallease attach ersonal part	the \$1, that you or the \$1 nership docum	,000 contribution with check is control? Yes ,000 contribution with check interest that you control? Yes entation showing that your ba interest was charged.	number numbe	No 18838 originate from a No r 18838 originate from a No ount was debited or your
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. D ba . I pe	oid funds for onk account Did funds for ersonal partr lease attach ersonal part Does Qua	the \$1, that you or the \$1 documnership il Ridge	,000 contribution with check in control? Yes ,000 contribution with check interest that you control? Yes entation showing that your basinterest was charged. Associates organize a politic	number numbe	No 18838 originate from a No r 18838 originate from a No ount was debited or your ribution plan for its members?
ba. I pe	oid funds for onk account Did funds for ersonal partr lease attach ersonal part Does Qua	the \$1, that you or the \$1 documnership il Ridge	,000 contribution with check is control? Yes ,000 contribution with check interest that you control? Yes entation showing that your ba interest was charged. Associates organize a politic Yes	number numbe nk acco	No 18838 originate from a No 18838 originate from a No ount was debited or your ribution plan for its members? No

		ease list all other mmittee.	persons inv	volved in the	making of you	ır conti	ribution to the Bradley
		···········			·		·
		Bradley Commit	tee.				of your contribution to
				\$1.00 m \$1.00 m			
18.		Did anyone asso contribution to the			e Associates en	courag	ge you to make a
			Yes			No	
19.		Did anyone asso			ompanies enco	urage y	ou to make a
		contribution to th	ne Bradley (Yes	Committee?		No	
	b.	Please list the in	dividuals a	and describe	the circumstan	ces.	
20.	Aı	re you a member	of any othe	er partnership	os?		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
			Yes		0	No	(If you answered "no," please proceed to question 34.)
21.	Pl	ease list all the pa	artnerships,	, other than (Quail Ridge As	ssociate	es, to which you belong
	_	-					

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22	How long have you	been a member of t	hose partnerships?	,	
22.	nave year				•
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·				
23.	What is your owner	ship interest in each	partnership?		
24.	What is the relation		other partnerships	to wh	ich you belong and
	Kushner Companies	·			
			·		
25.	Have you made corpartnerships?	ntributions to federa	l committees as a p	artner	of these other
		Yes		No	(If you answered "n please proceed to question 34.)
		1 1 - 4 4		2000	
26.	On a separate sheet partnerships. Please	e follow the format	shown below.	c as a	partner of other
26.	partnerships. Please	e follow the format	shown below.		partner of other
26.	partnerships. Please Committee:	e follow the format	shown below.		partner of otherAmount:
	partnerships. Please Committee:	e follow the format	shown below Date: _		Amount:
	partnerships. Please Committee: Partnership:	e follow the format	shown below Date: _	ns for	Amount:
	partnerships. Please Committee: Partnership: a. Do the partnersh	hips organize politic	shown below. Date: _ al contribution pla	ns for	Amount: its members? (If you answered "n please proceed to

28.	As a partner, did you	agree to make	political contri	outions	throu	igh a plan?
		Yes			No	(If you answered "no," please proceed to question 30.)
29.	When did you agree		n such a plan?			·
	For each of the above to the respective con	e contributions				bmitted the contributions
						
	Please list all other committees. Please	persons involve include commi	ed in your makir ttee personnel w	ig cont ho rec	ributio eived	your contribution.
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·					
32.	a. Did anyone associate to the federal con		partnerships end	ourage	e you t No	to make contributions
	b. Please list the inc	lividuals and de	escribe the circu	mstanc	es.	
33.	a. Did anyone assoc to the federal com		hner Companies	encou	ırage y	ou to make contributions
		Yes			No	
	b. Please list the in	dividuals and d				

fundraisir	ig activit					
		Yes		No		
b. Please lis			ribe the circumsta			
- 4						
5. What is you	ır relatior	nship to Kushner	Companies?			
-			•		:	
6. Have you e				?		
o. 11avo jou o	ver been	employed by Ku	Sinici Companies	•		
o. 11u o you o		Yes		No		
7. Please prov	□ ride the le	Yes ength of your em	ployment or assoc	No ciation w		· Companies
7. Please prov 8. Please desc Kushner Co soliciting co collecting a discussions	ribe any ompanies ontribution d forwar and func	Yes ength of your em other fundraising and associated p ons; suggesting o	ployment or associated activity in which partnerships. "Fur requesting that a lons. "Fundraising ther events involved."	No ciation we have a you have a contribute activity"	e participat activity" in ation be ma- also includ	ed involving cludes de; making, es meetings,
7. Please prov 8. Please desc Kushner Co soliciting co collecting a discussions	ribe any ompanies ontributiond forward function and function of the contribution of th	Yes ength of your em other fundraising and associated p ons; suggesting o rding contributio tions related to c rding of contribu	ployment or associated activity in which partnerships. "Fur requesting that a lons. "Fundraising other events involvations.	No ciation we have draising a contribution activity?	e participat activity" in ation be ma also includ soliciting, n	ed involving cludes de; making, es meetings, naking,
7. Please prov 8. Please desc Kushner Co soliciting co collecting a discussions	ribe any ompanies ontributiond forward function and function of the contribution of th	Yes ength of your em other fundraising and associated p ons; suggesting o rding contributio tions related to c rding of contribu	ployment or associated activity in which eartnerships. "Further requesting that a lons. "Fundraising other events involvations.	No ciation we have draising a contribution activity?	e participat activity" in ation be ma also includ soliciting, n	ed involving cludes de; making, es meetings, naking,

	on the	day of	, 2002.
	Signature:_		·
·	Date:		
	•		
We may wish to speak with you the best time during normal bus			ephone number and tell us
			ephone number and tell us

Mail to all federal agencies in Washington, DC is irradiated against anthrax and other biological hazards. This has resulted in substantial delays in delivery. For this reason, we ask that you also fax a copy of your response to us at (202) 219-1043 or scan it and email it to Albert Veldhuyzen at aveldhuyzen@fec.gov.

If you have any questions, you may call the FEC attorneys assigned to this matter, Albert Veldhuyzen and Michelle Abellera, at (202) 694-1650 or (800) 424-9530.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE.

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AMOUNT \$****1,000.00 55-653/212 18838 CHECK NO. AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE CORP. QUAIL R. ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS AND NO CENTS 66 W. MT. PLEASANT AVENUE LIVINGSTON, NJ 07039 BILL BRADLEY PRES EXPL COMMITT C/O BETTY W. JAPOCH NORCROWN BANK NJ 08540 4 HAWTHORNE AVENUE NJ 07932 QUAIL RIDGE ASSOCIATES 26 COLUMBIA TURNPIKE PRINCETON PAY EXACTLY FLORHAM PARK DATE 06/16/99 PAY TO THE ORDER OF

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